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# MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON FEMALE SPORT SOCIALIZATION

by

© LINDA MARIE KENNEDY

A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Mother-Daughter Relationships and their Influence on Female Sport Socialization

submitted by Linda Marie Kennedy

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the mother-daughter relationship and its influence on female sport socialization. From a review of literature dealing with parent-child identification, maternal influences, acquisition of sex roles, and sibling and ordinal influences, several possible implications were suggested for further examination.

The sample consisted of eight mother-daughter pairs who were members of the Royal Glenora Club, Edmonton, Alberta. Selection of the sample was dependent upon the mother being actively involved in some sport and having an adolescent daughter.

A case study approach was the format of this study, while data were collected by means of a personal interview.

Analysis of the data was first interpreted in regard to unique characteristics of each case, and then characteristics of the subjects as a group. Relevant findings were then noted.

Data suggested that the mother may be a prime factor in influencing her daughter's initial sporting interests. Future research in this area appears worthwhile.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS


| CHAPTER | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| I. | THE PROBLEM | 1 |
| | Introduction to the Problem | 1 |
| | The Problem | 2 |
| | Objectives of the Study | 2 |
| | Delimitations | 3 |
| | Limitations | 4 |
| | Need for the Study | 4 |
| II. | REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE | 8 |
| | Parent-Child Identification | 8 |
| | Summary and Conclusions | 18 |
| | Maternal Influences | 20 |
| | Summary and Conclusions | 26 |
| | Acquisition of Sex Roles | 28 |
| | Summary and Conclusions | 40 |
| | Sibling and Ordinal Influences | 42 |
| | Summary and Conclusions | 48 |
| III. | METHODOLOGY | 50 |
| | Introduction | 50 |
| | Selection of the Sample | 50 |
| | Construction of the Research Instruments | 51 |
| | Design of the Interview | 51 |

CHAPTER PAGE


Collection of the Data ..... 52

Recording of the Data ..... 53

Analysis of the Data ..... 54

Summary ..... 55

IV. CASE STUDIES ..... 56

I. A. Mrs. Young ..... 57

B. Lee ..... 65

II. A. Mrs. Trace ..... 71

B. Karen ..... 79

III. A. Mrs. Samson ..... 86

B. Lynn ..... 93

IV. A. Mrs. McDonald ..... 99

B. Leslie ..... 107

V. A. Mrs. McIlveen ..... 113

B. Carol ..... 119

VI. A. Mrs. Marks ..... 127

B. Kelly ..... 135

VII. A. Mrs. McKenzie ..... 142

B. Kathy ..... 149

VIII. A. Mrs. Potter ..... 155

B. Mary ..... 162

V. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS ..... 170

Interpretation and Unique Characteristics of Each Case ..... 171

Characteristics of the Subjects as a Group ..... 188

CHAPTER PAGE

VI. SUMMARY AND QUALIFICATION OF RESULTS ..... 198

Summary ..... 198

Relevant Findings ..... 199

Recommendations ..... 201

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 203

APPENDIX ..... 213

Appendix A. General Interview Information ..... 214

General Physical Characteristics Information ..... 215

Interview Schedule ..... 216

# CHAPTER I

# THE PROBLEM

## Introduction to the Problem

Over the years numerous studies have examined various processes of the socialization of the child. As a major portion of a child's early life is spent in the home, the family is usually the chief determinant in shaping the child's personality. Many feel it is through identification with like-sexed parents that a child is first socialized into the appropriate sex-role.

More specifically, one of the closest parent-child ties is that between the mother and her daughter. Several studies show the daughter identifies with the mother from infancy through adolescence. Certain studies suggest the possibility that as the daughter ages she tends to identify more with the feminine image or sex role than directly with the mother. Despite this suggestion, most existing literature in this area recognizes the influence the mother has on her daughter.

If the mother does in fact influence the daughter's attitudes and behaviors by her own, one would expect to find various similarities. This concept can be extended to sporting interests and behavior. Little research, if any, has concerned itself with the influence of the mother's attitudes toward and participation in sport on whether the daughter will have a favourable attitude toward or participate in sport.

It is often around the age of adolescence that many girls are turned off sport or come to really enjoy it. In the past few years those persons concerned with girls of this age lack of interest in sport have examined such outside influences as the school sports program, peers and community but have often overlooked those persons closest or most significant to the girl. Therefore it is time that the mother, as an influential factor, is examined.

## The Problem

The purpose of this research will be to attempt to identify if the mother is an influential factor in determining her adolescent daughter's attitudes toward and participation in sport. It will further seek to determine if this area of research warrants further study.

This research is to be a detailed in depth study of a small sample which would enable all the interviews to be carried out by one person. The result of such a concentrated analysis of a small sample would not of course provide evidence for any large scale generalizations but might provide an illuminating picture of the extent or type of influence the mother has on her daughter's sporting interests.

## Objectives of the Study

The aim of such a research project as this, involving the use of case studies, is to present a comprehensive description and explanation of as many components of a given social situation as possible. The

specific objectives of this study are then to examine suggested or possible implications, indicated as a result of a review of literature in the following four major areas:

1. Parent-Child Identification
    - A. Introduction
    - B. Studies on Parent-Child Identification
    - C. Summary and Conclusions
2. Maternal Influences on Female Children and Adolescents
    - A. Summary and Conclusions
3. Acquisition of Sex Roles
    - A. Introduction
    - B. Studies on Acquisition of Sex Roles
    - C. Summary and Conclusions
4. Sibling and Ordinal Influences
    - A. Summary and Conclusions

Parallels to a sporting context will also be drawn where possible.

Upon completion of analysis of the collected data implications will be noted and potential hypotheses suggested.

## Delimitations

This study was delimited to:

1. Selected mothers and their daughters who were members of the Royal Glenora Club, Edmonton, during the year 1974-1975.
2. Mothers who are actively involved in some sport approximately three hours a week.

3. Daughters of adolescent age. Four of the eight daughters were the oldest child in the family. The other four had an older sibling or siblings.

4. A study of the mother as an influential factor in determining her adolescent daughter's attitudes toward and participation in sport.

5. A study of selected concepts and implications in the four areas previously mentioned, and possible parallels to the sporting context.

## Limitations

This study had the following limitations:

1. The survey was limited to interpretation and analysis of a large volume of data by means of personal interviews.

2. Interviews were conducted by a single researcher.

3. No rigid interview schedule was formulated as the study was partially shaped by the data collected.

4. Possible biases may be prevalent in the interviewing techniques.

5. Sample size was limited to eight mothers and daughters due to the time involved in personal case interviews and also due to the few numbers meeting the required sample specifications.

## Need for the Study

One of the major needs for a study such as this is to increase the volume of literature and research pertaining to girls and women in sport. More specifically, there is a need to examine the influence

the family has on a person's sporting interests and activities. For this reason, the mother-daughter relationship has been selected for closer study.

One of the closest family ties is that between the mother and her daughter. Symonds (1939) and Mead (1934) were among the first to report the importance of the mother-child relationship. Several studies (Roff, 1961; Sears, Maccoby, Levin, 1957; Lynn, 1961; Lynn, 1969; Bandura and Walters, 1963; Sears, Rau, Alport, 1965) show that over the years the daughter's principal identificand is the mother. Other studies (Fitzgerald and Roberts, 1966) suggest the possibility that, with increasing age, the daughter tends to identify more with the feminine image or sex role than directly with the mother. Regardless of whether the daughter actually identifies with the mother or the feminine role, most existing literature in this area recognizes the influence the mother has on her daughter.

Several studies point out a need for a closer examination of the mother-daughter relationship in general. Doherty's study (1969) of the relationship of dependency and perception of parents to the development of feminine sex roles and conscience, indicated a particular research emphasis was the exploration of the importance of maternal control and the daughter's dependency. In regard to identification with the like-sex parent, Emmerich (1959) suggested that future studies might explore the hypothesis that girls select the mother as a model primarily on the basis of attachment, and identify with those aspects of the mother's behavior which differentiates her role as adult from

the girl's role as child. Another study suggests that in the development of the child's appropriate sex-typing, the girl's family appears to play more forceful and direct roles as teachers and socializers than the boys (Mussen and Rutherford, 1963). Further, in understanding the female adolescent's behavior, it may be important also to study the mother's early interactions with the daughter (Kagan and Moss, 1962). Although direct evidence is limited it appears that the child's eventual sexual orientation and adjustment in adolescence and adulthood bears a direct relationship with the nature of his sex-role development as a child (Brown, 1958). Data from a survey of college women reveal that a woman's life goals, particularly her educational and occupational aspirations, are guided by the type of sex-role ideology acquired in childhood (Lipman-Blumen, 1972). In a pilot study concerning parental attitude and physical variables, in particular childhood obesity, Corbin (1968) suggests findings warrant further research in this area and in particular maternal attitudes and their relationship to child obesity, childhood awkwardness, and physical fitness.

As the above studies suggest, the mother may influence various behaviors of the daughter. If this is the case, one would expect the mother to serve as an influence, through past and present attitudes and behaviors, on the daughter's sporting interests and activities. Little research, if any, has been concerned with this notion. Therefore there is a need for this type of research.

This study is less interested in showing precise correlations than in suggesting patterns of relationships which have not been

considered in this way before. It will thus try to describe a fairly complete picture of the mother-daughter relationship in regard to sporting attitudes and activities.

# CHAPTER II

# REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

## Parent-Child Identification

### Introduction

It is felt that the social learning of a particular role occurs primarily through the influence of significant others, which for use in this study will also be considered potential role models. A role model will be considered as a person who possesses desirable skills, attitudes or behavior which serves as a frame of reference to others. Learning is thought to be one of the primary determinants of behavior. Briefly, most kinds of learning need the presence of a drive, a cue, a response, and a reward (Mussen & Conger, 1956, p. 133).

Throughout a child's life, they are exposed to a series of models whose relative strengths of influence depend on their availability, their similarities or dissimilarities, their interrelationships, and the extent to which each of them has received rewarding or punishing consequences for his behavior (Bandura & Walters, 1963, p. 92). Learning by observation of models is termed 'observational learning'. Bandura and Walters suggest there are three distinct effects exhibited as a result of the observation of models. These include:

1. modeling effect - the model exhibits responses that the observer has not yet learned to make and which the observer must reproduce in substantially identical form,

2. inhibitory and disinhibitory effects - effects shown when latency, intensity, or frequency of imitation and non-matching responses increases or decreases, often as a function of rewarding or punishing response consequences to the model,

3. response facilitation effect - behavior of models may elicit previously learned responses that match precisely or bear some resemblance to those exhibited by the model (Bandura & Walters, 1963, p. 60).

Observational learning is primarily concerned with processes whereby observers organize response elements into new patterns of behavior at a symbolic level on the basis of information conveyed by modelling stimuli (Bandura, 1972, p. 39). If a person only observes a model's behavior without simultaneously performing similar responses, then she can acquire the modeled responses while they are occurring only in mentally recorded forms. Furthermore, the social learning analysis of observational learning assumes that modeling influences operate principally through their informative function, and that observers acquire mainly symbolic representations of modeled events rather than specific stimulus-response associations (Bandura, 1972, p. 40).

Learning by observation is considered dependent upon the following four interrelated subprocesses.

1. Attentional processes - attending to or recognizing the

important features of the model's behavior.

2. Retention processes - long-term retention of activities that have been modeled at one time or another.

3. Motor reproduction processes - concerned with behavioral enactment of what one has learned.

4. Reinforcement and motivational processes - learning may rarely be activated into overt performance if it is negatively sanctioned or otherwise unfavorably received (Bandura, 1973).

Imitation can be considered the matching or copying of responses when appropriate cues are evoked. Once this process occurs, the consequences to the observer will largely determine whether their responses are strengthened, weakened, or inhibited. According to social learning theory, behavior can be maintained not only by directly experienced consequences arising from external sources but also by self-reinforcement and vicarious reinforcement (Bandura, 1972, p. 48). If appropriate matching behavior following exposure to modeling stimuli does not occur, it may result from either failures in adequate registration of modeled events, inadequate coding of modeling stimuli for memory representation, retention decrements, motor deficiencies, or inadequate reinforcement (Bandura, 1972, p. 50).

Models may be presented symbolically or in real life. Symbolic models can further be presented through oral or written instructions, pictorially, or through a combination of verbally and pictorially (Bandura & Walters, 1963). The types of persons imitated, according to Miller and Dollard (1941, p. 183), may be divided into the following

four classes:

1. Superiors in an age-grade hierarchy.
2. Superiors in an hierarchy of social status.
3. Superiors in an intelligence ranking system.
4. Superior technicians in any field.

We will be mainly concerned with the first type as we examine the mother-daughter relationship. This study proposes to examine whether physically active mothers serve as influential models to their daughters.

Mussen (1969) suggests that the term identification was hypothesized, in terms of social-learning theory, to account for the acquisition and development of many complicated sex-typed patterns of behavior, personality characteristics, motives and attitudes. Many of these responses seem to develop spontaneously, without direct training or reward and without the child intending to learn.

The models persons select, either consciously or subconsciously, upon which they pattern their behavior are generally those persons closely associated with them. Those persons who are especially significant to a child appear to be his primary sources of motivations, fears and rewards (Mussen and Rutherford, 1963). The child identifies with these 'others' and begins to adopt certain of their behaviors, attitudes, values, motives and taboos. Before examining this area in more depth, it is important to clarify the concept of identification. Kagan (1958) defines it as an acquired, cognitive response. Identification was not viewed as an all-or-none process, but was felt to vary in strength. Thus, the individual can identify to differing degrees

with a variety of models (Kagan, 1958). Another way of defining identification is the name given to whatever process occurs when the child adopts the method of role practice, i.e. acts as though he were occupying another person's role (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957, p. 370). Lynn (1969) suggests identification often refers to one person's similarity to: (1) another individual (2) individuals belonging to some body of people (3) individuals falling within a single category. Further, this similarity is frequently described in terms of an emotional bond which may be applied to: (1) perceived similarity (2) a motive to become similar (3) a process of becoming similar, or (4) a state of being similar (Lynn, 1969, p. 3). Lynn then goes on to specify seven currently existing explanatory principles of identification: (a) fear of punishment (b) fear of witheld love (c) reinforcement (d) vicarious reinforcement (e) status envy (f) power envy, and (g) similarity (Lynn, 1969, p. 11).

## Studies on Parent-Child Identification

Various studies have been conducted in regard to children's modeling. Bandura and Kuper's (1964) study revealed that children's patterns and magnitude of self-reinforcement closely matched those of the model to whom they had been exposed. Adults generally served as more powerful modeling stimuli than peers in transmitting self-reinforcing responses. Another study showed children as imitating primarily the model who possessed rewarding power rather than the competitor for the rewards. Rosekrans study (1967) on preadolescent

boys found high perceived similarity to the model resulted in greater imitation than low perceived similarity and appeared to facilitate acquisition of imitative responses as well as performance. It may be that girls who perceive themselves as similar to their mother may show greater identification or imitation of her attitudes, interests, and sporting behaviors than girls who do not perceive themselves as being similar to their mothers. Studies such as these illustrate generally the potential influence parents, as models, have on their children.

A girl begins the long process of socialization in the home and thus her family is the major determinant in shaping her personality. Bandura and Walters (1963) reviewed various theories of identification and concluded that they usually assumed within the family setting the child's initial identification is confined to his mother, and that boys during early childhood are later forced to switch their source of identification to the father for imitative learning. However, throughout a child's development, they are exposed to a variety of models, including both parents, siblings and persons outside the family. The child during each age period usually selects at least one or more models as a primary reference of behavior, but does not usually confine his imitation solely to one model or reproduce all the elements of one (Bandura & Walters, 1963). However, identification with like-sexed parents is one of the major ways that a child is first socialized into the appropriate sex-role.

Parent-Child Identification

This portion of the review of literature will pertain mainly to studies concerning parent-child identification. More specifically, the majority of the studies will relate to the mother-daughter relationship. In a study by Sears, Rau, and Alpert (1965), concerning the interrelationships and child-rearing antecedants of several types of child behavior, conclusions concerning the mother-daughter relationship included: 1) children of both sexes initially adopt feminine-maternal ways of behaving. The mechanisms involved may include either a modeling process, or direct tuition. 2) masculinity and femininity both appear to be more influenced by parental attitudes toward the control of sex and aggression than by any aspect of the availability or the behavior of models. Supporting these findings, Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) show the child as usually choosing the mother as her initial identificand, and the child as further practicing those aspects of the maternal role that bring important evidences of approval. One would then expect the daughter to be more interested in sport if she felt her mother approved.

More specifically certain studies (Gray and Klaus, 1956) show a male's identification with his father may not be as important for him as a girl's identification with her mother. Data, based on developmental patterns using the semantic differential, clearly supported the hypothesis that young girls identify more with the mother figure than with the stereotype of femininity (Fitzgerald and Roberts, 1966). In order to determine whether identification was with the mother figure or the

feminine stereotype, Fitzgerald and Roberts (1966) asked subjects to rate the concepts: 'my own mother, me, my friends, and my friends' mothers.' For example, if the D-Score, which is used to measure the semantic distance between two concepts, derived from a comparison of the 'me' and the 'my own mother' profiles for a fourth-grade girl was larger than the same statistic derived from the 'me' concept and the normative profile for 'my friends' mothers' (for the total sample of fourth-grade girls) it was assumed that the girl was identifying more with a generalized concept or stereotype of femininity than with her own mother. Although it appears girls identify specifically with their own mothers, there is a developmental shift from the mother as a dominant model to identification with a stereotype of femininity about grades four and five (Fitzgerald and Roberts, 1966). This finding could possibly help explain why girls with physically active mothers may not necessarily follow a similar pattern of behavior as they near adolescence. This would be particularly so if their perceived image of the feminine stereotype is non-athletic.

Roff (1950), in a review of available information on intra-family resemblance in personality characteristics predicts the resemblance of both sons and daughters to mothers may be higher than that to fathers when children are immature, but this difference will not be found at maturity. Also daughters may resemble both parents more than do sons on measures of attitude and opinion, and perhaps on some other variables. In contrast to these findings, Lynn (1961) hypothesized that both male and female infants learn to identify with the mother.

This early learned identification was further hypothesized to have 'primacy' over later learning. Boys, but not girls, must shift from the initial identification with the mother to masculine identification. It would appear then, that a girl's identification with her mother and the feminine sex role would be stronger than the boys with his mother. It may appear in certain cases that a child may wish to play the opposite sex role. Where such a discrepancy exists between sex-role preference and sex-role identification, females may show opposite-sex-role preference with underlying same-sex-role identification (Lynn, 1969). In a study on sex-role playing in preschool children Greif (1973), found that in most instances of role playing, children adopted sex-appropriate roles, regardless of the sex of their playmates. They were aware of behavior appropriate to the opposite sex role. In the case of role reversals, it was usually the little girls who wanted to play male roles. Further, sex role play was shown to be a social activity.

A couple of studies suggest that another means of testing for identification is through studying sex-role preferences. This is done by means of doll-play techniques, and human figure drawings. A structured doll-play interview, involving preschool age children, showed the subjects tended to identify more with the same-sex parent than with the opposite-sex parent. However, the difference was reliable only in boys (Emmerich, 1959). In regard to the question of the adequacy of psychological identification or adjustment being reflected in the choice of sex in the drawing of human figures, Brown and Tolor (1957), conclude there is no convincing evidence. Normal adult subjects of

both sexes tend to draw their own respective sexes first, but considerable confusion exists with reference to the test performance of children. Grief (1973) suggests that although a little girl may express preferences for males activities, her actual behavior may coincide with female norms. As a result Grief feels that studying sex-role preferences is not a valid method for determining which sex roles children actually adopt. Similarly, Brown and Tolor (1957) feel there is no convincing evidence that adequacy of psychological identification or adjustment is reflected in the choice of sex in the drawing of human figures. Therefore, the only valid conclusion is that the basis or significance of drawing a person of the opposite sex first is not known.

The previous studies involved mainly children, whereas the following use adolescents and adults as subjects. In a study by Peck (1958), adolescent's personality characteristics proved to be significantly related to the emotional relationships and the disciplinary patterns which they experienced in living with their parents. Gray and Klaus (1956) found for both men and women, greater similarities in general for the same-sex parent, both as tested and as perceived. When the sexes were compared, however, women were significantly more like their same-sex parent. This suggests that parental identification with the same-sex parent may be a more important process for women than men. In a study of middle class college students and their mothers, no significant relationship was found between the student's identification with their mothers and their sex, family function, the parent who was

primarily responsible for their control, or their perception of their mother's affection, though the trend of the data was found between girls identifying with their mothers and not perceiving their mothers' control over-circumscribing their freedom (Aldous and Kell, 1961). It is possible that the adolescent girl's relationship with her mother is partially determined by this same relationship as it was in her childhood. This is evidenced in a study on ego identity and maternal identification (Dignan, 1965) which supports Eriksons (1963) theory that one of the early single identifications, that with the mother, is significant for identity formation during adolescence. If a child's early identification with her mother does affect the daughter in adolescence, then it is also important to study this early period in terms of both identification and sporting interests and activities.

## Summary and Conclusions

As a result of reviewing the literature on parent-child identification, certain implications relevant to this study emerge:

1. Early identification for girls is primarily with the mother. Further, this identification may be stronger for girls than boys.
2. Parental attitudes may influence the childs behavior as much or more than parental behavior. Therefore a positive attitude toward the childs behavior should reinforce it. Similarly a positive attitude towards any specific behavior should enhance the attractiveness of it.

3. There may be a developmental shift from the mother as a specific identificand to an identification with a stereotype of femininity about grades four and five.
4. In regard to adolescents' personality characteristics, females showed greater similarities in general for the same-sex parent.
5. Early identification with the mother may affect attitudes and behaviors in adolescence.

Based on the review of literature in this section, and the above implications, certain parallels to a sporting context can be suggested.

1. If the daughter identifies primarily with the mother, one would expect the two to have certain similar interests and activities.
2. If the mother has a positive attitude toward sports or participates in sports, one would expect the daughter to feel and behave in a similar manner.
3. If there is a developmental shift from the mother as specific identificand to an identification with a stereotype of femininity about grades four and five, this may possibly help explain why girls with physically active mothers may not necessarily follow a similar pattern of behavior as they near adolescence. This would be particularly so if their perceived image of the feminine stereotype is non-athletic.
4. If early identification with the mother does affect a girl's attitudes and behaviors in adolescence, one would expect this to also hold true in a sporting context.

## Maternal Influences

In viewing the studies concerning parent-child identifications it was clearly shown that young girls form a strong identification with their mother. It then becomes necessary to review what influence the mother, in particular, has on various attitudes and behaviors of the daughter. Beginning with studies pertaining to children, Watson (1967) sought to determine personality differences in children as related to strict or permissive parental discipline. He found more permissiveness for the child to be generally associated with: (a) more initiative and independence (except perhaps at school tasks); (b) better socialization and cooperations; (c) less inner hostility and more friendly feelings towards others, and (d) a higher level of spontaneity, originality and creativity. Another study shows the more suppressive and critical the mother, the less responsive the baby was in social play with her (Beckwith, 1972). This suggests that a certain degree of permissiveness may facilitate a child's desire to participate in sport. Further, a fairly recent study found mothers who had not attended college were markedly more prohibitive and intrusive than college educated mothers (Minton, Kagan and Levine, 1971). Studies relating parental attitudes and behaviors to children's achievements showed fairly consistent results. Crandall, Preston and Rabson (1960) found neither maternal affection nor independence training was predictive of the children's achievement behavior while direct maternal rewards of achievement efforts and approval-seeking were. A study investigating relations between parents' attitudes and behavior toward their children's general

intellectual-achievement efforts, and their children's performances on standard academic-achievement tests revealed general parental behaviors which significantly predicted the children's academic-test performances pertained solely to mothers and their daughters. Mothers of academically competent girls were less affectionate and less nurturant toward their daughters than were mothers of girls who were less proficient. Both the mother's evaluation of, and satisfaction with their children's general intellectual competence were positively related to these children's actual academic performances, while those of the fathers were not. However, positive and negative reactions of parents to children's intellectual-achievement efforts were predictive of the child's academic-achievement-test performances for father-daughter combinations only (Crandall, Dewey, Katkovsky, and Preston, 1964).

A study to investigate the influence of perceived aspects of parental and peer expectancies, parental warmth and parental authority on self-identification of kindergarten, fourth and tenth grade girls as active and competent movement performers tested five related hypotheses. Two of these were only partially borne out; those being: (1) when parental expectancies disagree, the child will model after the warm parent, and (2) when neither parent is perceived warm the child models after the most powerful parent. The hypothesis that when both parents are perceived as warm, the child models after the like sex parent was significant only for the kindergarten group. The only hypothesis significant for all groups was that when parental expectations disagree, the child follows the model whose expectations agree with peers (Ogelsby, 1969). In

regard to general parent-child identification, rather than to specific behaviors, two studies by Mussen and Distler (1959, 1960), show a boy's identification with his father is positively related to nurturance. One would then expect the same to hold true for a girl's identification with her mother. Mussen and Rutherford (1963) substantiate this relationship for both sexes. Therefore, if the mother-daughter relationship is warm or nurturant, the daughter's identification with her mother should be stronger than if the relationship was not warm or nurturant. However, in regard to achievement behavior, it was previously shown that a low to moderate degree of maternal warmth positively influenced this type of behavior the most, and provided a high role consistency. It may be that there is a similar optimal level of warmth or nurturance at which a girl's behavior is most achievement oriented and may facilitate participation in sport. Another interesting relation to examine is between maternal self-acceptance and child acceptance. Medinnus and Curtis (1967) show findings to positively support this relationship.

Studies relating to adolescents and adults in this area cover various diverse relations. Adams and Sarason (1963) investigated the interrelations among scores obtained by children, mothers, and fathers on four anxiety scales. Only in the case of girls and their mothers were there consistent, positive correlations for all four scales. Although the findings do not demonstrate a causal relation, they do agree with the view that anxiety responses may be acquired in the home and that the mother, in comparison with the father, plays a more influential role in relation to children, particularly in the case of

daughters. One would then expect that highly anxious mothers may transmit their anxiety to their daughters. Most sporting situations contain an element of anxiety and as such highly anxious persons may seek to avoid this by not participating. Smith (1970) predicted positive correlations between parental power and influence variables. He found that parental influence is more strongly related to parental legitimate, expert, and referent power than to parental outcome--control power (the parent's ability to mediate rewards and punishments for the adolescent). In regard to behavioral consistency, Heilbrun (1964) looked at two measures; sex-typicality of the parent models and degree of parental nurturance. The only significant role consistency result obtained for females was a curvilinear relation between the role variable and maternal nurturance. Moderate mother nurturance provided higher role consistency than either high or low nurturance. In a study of parental attitudes of mothers of intelligent adolescents and the creativity of their children, Nichols (1964) showed authoritarian child rearing attitudes of the mother were negatively related to measures of the creativity and originality of the child, but were positively related to academic performance. Even with regard to occupational choice the parents have a big influence. Data from a survey of college women reveal that a woman's life goals, particularly her educational and occupational aspirations, are guided by the type of sex-role ideology acquired in childhood (Lipman - Blumen, 1972). The above author further suggests an important predictor of a woman's female-role ideology is her perception of her mother's overall satisfaction

with life. Dissatisfied mothers were more likely than satisfied ones to rear daughters with the contemporary view of the role of women, and satisfied mothers were more likely to have daughters with the traditional orientation. Traditional views hold that under ordinary circumstances women belong in the home, caring for children and carrying out domestic duties. The contemporary view holds that the relationships between men and women are ideally egalitarian and that husbands and wives may share domestic, child-rearing and financial responsibilities. In addition, adolescents who regard their parents as being successful are better able to accept their parents as role models and to pattern their own lives in a similar fashion. This suggests that girls who view their mother as successful may identify more strongly with her. This may be particularly so in a sporting situation. However, the data showed dissatisfied mothers were more likely than satisfied ones to rear daughters with the contemporary view, which one would normally associate with active participation in sports (Lipman-Blumen, 1972). It may be that mothers who formerly found their lifestyle too restrictive may have sought satisfaction in sports and as a result redefined their views on female sex roles. Another study pertaining to the relation of identification and parent-child climate to occupational choice concluded that occupations are chosen which represent the sex-type of the parent with whom there is greater identification. Although parent child climate or warmth of relationship did relate significantly to the identification process, parent-child climate in and of itself was not directly related to occupational choice as far as the categories employed in this particular

study were concerned (Sostek, 1963).

Little information is available on the influence of mothers on their daughters' physical activities. However, it may be possible to see certain trends arising from studies involving boys. Ruffer (1965), in a study comparing active junior and senior high school boys, found the highly active subjects were given a better example to follow concerning participation in physical activity than the inactive subjects. Evidence from the number of highly active older brothers, current degree of physical activity of the fathers, and degree of parental encouragement to participate variables support this conclusion. Similarly Orlick (1972) traced young boy's participation in sport to positive role models of sports participation, positive expectancies from sports participation, and positive reinforcement for sport related activities. Avoidance of sports participation was traced to negative role models, negative expectancies, and negative reinforcements for sport related activities. In regard to the mothers' attitude about sports, the data indicated that mothers of participant children had a more positive attitude towards sports than did mothers of non-participant children, whereas for fathers the attitude differences were not significant. Similar to these two studies, and in addition to previous studies, it may be possible to suggest that a girl's participation in sport may similarly be traced to positive role models, positive expectancies, and positive reinforcements for sport related activities. Therefore, if a girl's strongest identification is with her mother, and the mother acts as a positive role model, positive expectancies are provided and

reinforcements, then it may be possible to expect that the daughter will probably participate in sport.

## Summary and Conclusions

As a result of reviewing the literature on maternal influence, the following implications appear relevant to this study:

1. Various maternal behaviors such as permissiveness, maternal warmth or nurturance, self-acceptance, authoritarianism, and anxiety, have been linked as determining factors in certain childhood behaviors.
2. It appears that a certain amount of parental warmth may be conducive to a daughter's identification with her mother.
3. Maternal warmth was correlated with achievement behavior in studies on both children and adolescents. A low to moderate degree of maternal warmth influenced achievement behavior the most and provided a high role consistency.
4. High authoritarianism was positively linked to academic achievement, but was negatively linked to creativity and originality.
5. A mother's success may also be positively linked to her daughter's identification with her.

Based on the review of literature in this section and also on the above implications certain parallels to a sporting context can be made.

1. Certain of the above maternal behaviors which were linked as determining factors in certain childhood behaviors, may also be factors in whether a girl participates in sport or not.

2. More specifically, a moderate degree of permissiveness and independence may facilitate a child's desire to participate in sport.
3. Similarly it appears that a moderate degree of warmth is required for a daughter to identify with her mother. It seems there may be a certain level of warmth or nurturance at which a girl's behavior is most achievement oriented and may facilitate participation in sport. This level would probably be a low to moderate amount of warmth.
4. A girl's participation in sport may possibly be traced to positive role models, positive expectancies, and positive reinforcement for sport related activities. If the daughter identifies with her mother, and the mother helps fulfill these needs for her daughter, one could possibly expect the daughter to participate in sport.

## Acquisition of Sex Roles

### Introduction

Beginning with a social learning viewpoint, the development of sex roles will be briefly outlined. At birth a child is assigned either a masculine of a feminine gender role. A set of rules are then established for the child, based on his sex, followed by a subsequent imposition of training practices and modeling experiences that are intended to result in shaping behavior so that specific masculine or feminine qualities will emerge. The aim of most parents is to provide those reinforcements which are conducive to the adoption and assimilation of that role (Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1972). However, cultural ascriptions to sex role are not always clear and unchanging. They often vary as a function of culture, and as a function of subcultural expectations with the same society (Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1972). Similarly, in the behavioral repertoire of boys and girls are dispositions to respond to similar situations in ways that are not gender-specific. There are various situations at different developmental levels in which male-female responses are not clearly differentiated. This results in some classes of behavior and preferences that do not readily fit role expectations (Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1972). On the whole, the above authors feel, "that sex differences may be generalized, but prediction of individual behavior requires a further knowledge of specific situations and conditions" (Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1972). Also, certain behaviors

are reinforced differently depending upon both sex and age.

Following this initial learning, the process of imitation assists in the acquisition of sex roles. Imitation, as defined by Sutton-Smith (1972), is the observation of an appropriate model's behavior resulting in the acquisition of additional and complex behavior patterns. In order for imitation learning to occur, it is not necessary that the child perform the learned behaviors immediately or receive reinforcement of these new behavior patterns. Further, the most complicated sex-appropriate patterns of behavior are gained by the developing child without evident reinforcement. This type of learning is termed identificatory learning or identification (Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1972). This implies that the child develops a drive or motive to be like a model, typically the parent of the same sex. The concept of identification helps account for the acquisition of complex integrated patterns of sex role behavior which were not preceded by any specific training or tuitioning (Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith, 1972). Mischel (1966) also looks at sex differences from the social-learning view. He describes sex-typed behaviors as those behaviors that typically elicit different rewards for one sex than for the other. Further, "sex-typing is the process by which the individual acquires sex-typed behavior patterns: first he learns to discriminate between sex-typed behavior patterns, then to generalize from these specific learning experiences to new situations, and finally to perform sex-typed behavior" (Mischel, 1966, p. 57).

Kohlberg (1966) suggests a cognitive theory of the acquisition

of sex roles in contrast to social-learning theory which sees the patterning of sexual attitudes as a reflection of the patterning, or sex-typing, of the culture. Cognitive theory assumes that basic sexual attitudes are not patterned directly by either biological instincts or arbitrary cultural norms, but by the child's cognitive organization of his social world along sex-role dimensions. It is this cognitive organization of social-role concepts around universal physical dimensions, which accounts for the existence of universals in sex role attitudes. The theory is cognitive in that it stresses the active nature of the child's thought as he organizes his role perceptions and role learnings around his basic conceptions of his body and his world. Further, basic modes of cognitive organization change with age. These age changes seem to be natural changes resulting from general trends of cognitive-social development rather than the result of age-graded sex-role socialization.

Mussen (1969) suggests that none of the present theories on sex role development are able to account for all the observed phenomena. A comprehensive theory of sex-role development would have to incorporate aspects of the various theories, and in addition, include some factors not clearly handled in any of them. Mussen (1969) views the sequence of critical events in sex-role development as labeling, tuition or training, and identification. He suggests the importance of parents in promoting their child's sex-typing. Mussen sees their task as two-fold. First, in teaching the child appropriate sex-typed responses through rewards and punishments, guiding his behavior, and directing it into the proper channels, and secondly in providing a model of the

proper general attitudes and personality characteristics for the child to emulate (Mussen, 1969). Thus it seems apparent that whatever theory is used to explain the development of sex roles in children, the parents serve as a major influence.

Before reviewing various studies concerning the female's acquisition of her appropriate sex role, it is necessary to briefly clarify a few more terms. Sex-role identification refers to an internalization of aspects of the role which are considered appropriate to a given sex and to the unconscious reactions characteristic of that role (Lynn, 1969). Distinguished from this are the terms sex-role preference and sex-role adoption; the first referring to a desire to adopt behavior characteristics of a given parent, and the later the actual acting out of behavior characteristics of a given sex (Lynn, 1969).

## Studies on Acquisition of Sex Roles

The extent to which an individual regards himself as masculine or feminine is influenced by various factors. A couple of studies (Goldberg and Lewis, 1969; Kagan and Lewis, 1965) emphasize the importance of observing sex differences in infants. Data from the study by Goldberg and Lewis (1969) indicate sex differences within the first year over a wide variety of infant behaviors, and that some of these behavior patterns suggest a relation to the mother's response to the infant in the first six months. The data also suggests that behavior can be predicted from earlier events and that it is indicative of later sex-role

behavior. The authors' hypothesis is based on both early reinforcement as well as subsequent cognitive elaboration. The data from Kagan and Lewis's (1965) study supports the general belief that there are basic biological differences between boys and girls in rate of psychological development during the opening year of life. Money and Ehrhardt (1972) feel the above findings are significant in showing the early age of onset of a gender-feedback effect, in the behavioral interaction of parent and infant, whereby the behavior of each reciprocates from stimulus to response vis-à-vis the behavior of the other. In answering the question of whether parents' gender-dimorphic expectancy, or the infants' gender-dimorphic activity comes first, Money and Ehrhardt (1972) suggest that interactional feedback is essential from the beginning. Moss (1972) studied and analysed some of the factors which structure the mother-infant relationship. In conclusion he proposed that maternal behavior initially tends to be under the control of the stimulus and reinforcing conditions provided by the infant. As the infant gets older, the mother, if she behaved contingently toward his signals, gradually acquires reinforcement value which in turn increases her control in regulating infant behaviors. Moss (1972) further pointed out that the state of the infant affects the quantity and quality of maternal behavior which in turn would seem to influence the course of future social learning. Kagan (1964) suggests that an individual develops masculine or feminine characteristics as a sum of differential indentification with parents and parent surrogate models, acquisition of sex-typed skills, and sex-role congruent experiences. Other evidence supporting a social-learning

viewpoint comes from a cross-cultural study involving 110 cultures (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957). Their data suggested that patterns of child-rearing practices seem to be oriented toward molding the prescribed adult sex-appropriate characteristics. Kagan (1964) further feels that the sex role appropriateness of a response is a major determinant of its developmental stability, and the degree to which substitute behaviors will appear in the individual's everyday behavior. Therefore if, for example, a girl felt that certain sporting activities were not appropriate to her sex role, these behaviors may be eliminated or new ones substituted in their place. However, Mischel (1966) cites Festinger (1964) as suggesting there is little current evidence that cognitive changes in opinions, beliefs, or values produce behavior change. Rather, Festinger (1957), and Brehm and Cohen (1962), show that cognitive and value changes occur as a result of particular behavioral performances. It appears that values and cognitions are realigned to make them consistent with behavior, and may even be used to justify behavior (Mischel, 1966). This coincides with the suggestion that in such a case the individual attempts to redefine the ideal sex role in obtainable terms (Money and Ehrhardt, 1972). This being the case, a girl who likes to participate in sports, but who previously felt this behavior did not coincide with her concept of behavior suitable to the female sex role would then reformulate her concept of what is acceptable behavior. Thus she would change her concept of her ideal sex role rather than change her behavior. This in turn would reduce any mental conflict or dissonance.

The socialization process of the young girl right through to

adolescence and adult life requires the presence of adequate role models to provide guidelines for a young person to follow (Epstein, 1970). It is further felt that the learning of sex role behaviors or sex role identity is facilitated by the desire to identify with a model of the same sex (Kagan, 1964). The following studies relate to this suggestion.

It should be noted that although studies pertaining to sex-role preferences may be peripheral to the actual acquisition of sex roles, they are used in research on sex-typing as a reflection of generalized characteristics of sex-typing, thus making it difficult to draw adequate conclusions (Mussen, 1969). However, a few studies will be reviewed for possible trends. Studies pertaining to children show a gradual acceptance of a wider range of activities suitable to the female sex role. This holds true until adolescence when "tomboyism" is no longer considered acceptable behavior by parents and peers (Money and Ehrhardt, 1972). The following two studies also note parents' differential reactions to sex-typing. Evidence of a study by Goodenough (1957) suggests that the father has greater interest in sex differences and shows greater concern for sex appropriate behavior in his children than the mother, and therefore exerts a stronger influence in general sex-typing. This also results in the female child being less restricted in her sex-typing than the male child. One would expect even less restriction to sex-type activities for the daughter, if her strongest identification is with her mother. This would also apply to sex-typed sporting interests and activities. A study by Harris (1973) found

no differences in the mean pattern of pressures between the mother or father being exerted on either sons or daughters. However, this study dealt only with the one dimension of control or demand versus laxity. It appears that a child may acquire some aspects of her appropriate role behavior unconsciously through what at least one of her parents does as a reinforcing agent (Rothbart & Maccoby, 1966). Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1960) in comparing male and female differences in game play activities indicated girls now evidence greater interest in male activities than was formerly the case. This evidence was consistent with other studies which emphasize an increase in the types of behavior considered acceptable to the female sex role (Brown, 1958; Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg & Margen, 1963). Brown (1957, 1958) suggests, beginning at kindergarten level and up to fourth grade, that boys show a much stronger preference for aspects of the masculine role than girls show for aspects of the feminine role. Mussen (1969) feels this may be a reflection of the girls' relative devaluation of the female role in the culture. Brown (1958) points out various signs of a gradual convergence of the two sex roles and the effect of a widespread inter-family variability in the sex roles of family members. Kohlberg (1966) suggests that by age five children have established a stable gender identity which determines the value of many social rewards rather than being instrumental in the achievement of these rewards. Once boys or girls have labelled themselves as male and female, these judgements of sex identity tend to be irreversible. However, behaviors of the sexes overlap to a great degree and there are many ways to be a boy or

girl" (Kohlberg, 1966). This coincides with Rabban's findings that middle class girls do not fully acquiesce to the definition of appropriate sex-patterning even by the age of eight (Rabban, 1950).

Various studies have examined children's sex role preferences and identification with the like-sexed parent. Results of a study by Mussen and Eldred (1963) substantiate the developmental identification hypothesis for both sexes. It appears the young girl's feminization is facilitated by several factors in addition to warm mother-daughter relationships. It was further suggested that in the development of the child's appropriate sex-typing, the girl's family appears to play more forceful and direct roles as teachers and socializers than the boys. In a study relating various child-rearing factors to the child's free choice of parent roles in permissive doll play, Sears (1953) found that girls choose the mother doll as the more significant agent more frequently than the father doll. Positive choices for the same sex role and avoidance of the opposite sex role were in general associated with antecedant conditions of warmth, permissiveness and low restriction. Similarly, Sears (1970), in regard to sixth grade children, found children's high self-concepts significantly related to high maternal and paternal warmth.

Before reviewing studies pertaining to adolescents and adults, possible links between these and the children's studies should be determined. Although direct evidence is limited it appears that the child's eventual sexual orientation and adjustment in adolescence and adulthood bears a direct relationship with the nature of his sex-

role development as a child (Brown, 1958). Further, data from a survey of college women reveal that a woman's life goals, particularly her educational and occupational aspirations, are guided by the type of sex-role ideology acquired in childhood (Lipman-Blumen, 1972).

Studies pertaining to adults and adolescents are limited in nature and number. Kagan and Moss (1962) studied the relation between two independent sets of data on the same individuals--ratings of adult behavior based on interviews when the subjects were between twenty and thirty years old, and independent ratings of their behavior during the four developmental periods of birth to age three, three to six, six to ten, and ten to fourteen. Findings on maternal behavior during the first three years was in some cases, more highly associated with child and adult behavior than evaluations of similar maternal treatment during the age periods of three to six and six to ten years. Generally speaking, traits congruent with appropriate sex-typing were found to be stable from childhood to maturity. Only the birth to age three period was significantly associated with sex-typed interests in adult women, as shown by the fact that adoption of masculine activities in adult women was highly associated with maternal hostility during this same period. Kagan and Moss feel, due to the fact that selected adolescent and adult behaviors were highly related to the birth to age three maternal treatment, observation of mother and child during the first three years may provide some insights into this reciprocal system. Also the probability of occurrence of a specific response during the period six to ten years of age was a moderately sensitive predictor of

the occurance of a similar response during adulthood when the response was congruent with sex role standards. Thus, it seems that when sex role standards dictated inhibition of a particular behavior for one sex, behavioral continuity from childhood to adulthood was minimal. Money and Ehrhardt (1972) suggest that for the ordinary young girl growing up, everything pertaining to the male gender role is brain-coded as negative and unfit for use. This serves as a form of a template of what not to do, and also as a guide of what to expect in the behavior of the opposite sex, when one's own behavior must be complemental. Bardwick and Douvan (1972) suggest that until puberty girls are reared permissively, developing a "bi-sexual" identity, rewarded for traditional femininity and successful competitive achievement. However, with puberty, permissiveness ends. During adolescence, those competitive skills that were a route to rewards from others are often punished and the traditional feminine role becomes a goal to be earned. For girls still in a competitive milieu, there is often a long delay in evolving a definition of the self (Bardwick and Douvan, 1972). Further, sexual maturation intensifies cultural pressures on the adolescent and leaves her especially vulnerable. Adolescents at this stage often have little confidence in their own ability to manage new impulses and as a result tend to rely more on directives offered by parents and adults (Douvan, 1970). Webb (1963) in studying sex role preferences and adjustments also suggests that the female role may be in a state of confusion during the period of early adolescence. This is often the age period when girls tend to turn away from sport. However, if it is true that adolescents tend to rely more on directives offered by parents, it may be that female

adolescents seek guidance, both consciously and unconsciously, as to what type of behavior is acceptable to the female sex role. In regard to sporting behavior, if the mother has both a positive attitude toward sport and participates in sport, as is the case in this study, one would expect her to encourage or approve of similar attitudes and behaviors in her daughter.

Not all the studies pertain to identification with the like sexed parent. Johnson (1963) in her study of sex role learning in the nuclear family shows studies and material relating to the hypothesis that it is identification with the father, in the sense of internalizing a reciprocal role relationship with the father, which is crucial for producing appropriate sex role orientations in both males and females. In a study of family interaction effects on masculinity-femininity, Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith's results (1968) gave support to those who have suggested that the father plays a more crucial role in the development of the children's sex preferences than does the mother. An experiment by Doherty (1969) proposed to test in an adult, female population Sear's hypothesis that identification, or perceived similarity of parent and child, results from a child's dependency tie with her parents and is fostered by the child's perception of parental nurturance. Results partially upheld the prediction that girls would identify with the parent perceived as the more accepting. It was postulated that sex-role and conscience may develop in the female from diverse parental influences rather than from a unitary process such as identification. A suggested possible research emphasis was the exploration of the importance of

maternal control and the daughter dependency.

Summary and Conclusions

As a result of reviewing the literature on the acquisition of sex roles, the following implications appear relevant to this study:

1. A girl's sex role behavior learning is facilitated through identification with the mother.
2. One would expect the behaviors considered by the mother as acceptable to the female sex role to be similar to those of the daughter if there is a close identification between mother and daughter.
3. There has been a gradual acceptance of a wider range of activities considered suitable to the female sex role.
4. Maternal warmth is associated with the acquisition of sex roles and high self-esteem.
5. Sex role orientation, adjustment and life goals of adolescents may bear a direct relation with the nature of their sex-role development and maternal treatment received as a child, and possibly as early as infancy.

Based on the review of literature in this section and also on the above implications, certain parallels to a sporting context can be made.

1. As a girl's sex role behavior learning is facilitated through identification with the mother one would expect that if the mother's sex role behavior includes sporting interests and activities then the daughter may acquire similar sporting interests and activities

through identification with the mother.

2. One would expect sporting interests and activities to be included in this gradual acceptance of a wider range of activities considered suitable to the female sex role. Along with this masculinization of the feminine self-concept one would further expect a more positive attitude towards girls in sport.

3. A certain degree of maternal warmth is associated with the acquisition of sex roles and high self-concepts. Mothers' sex role behavior for the sample in this study includes sporting interests and activities. One would then expect that for the daughter to acquire similar sex role behaviors there must be a certain amount of warmth in her relationship with her mother.

4. As a person's sex role orientation, adjustment and life goals of adolescents may bear a direct relation with the nature of their sex-role development and maternal treatment received as a child one may then expect that, if a child's sex role was at all sport oriented and the mother encouraged athletic activity, then the daughter would still be interested in athletics during adolescence unless negative influences outside the mother-daughter relationship inhibited this interest.

## Sibling and Ordinal Influences

Existing literature suggests two major variables of concern within the family which may influence socialization of the child. The first is the number of siblings a child has, and the second is the ordinal position one occupies in the family. Landers (1970) feels that evidence suggests the influence of siblings is an important family structural variable for sport and participation in recreation as siblings close in age interact in play groups throughout the socialization years. He has postulated four different theoretical explanations, for observed ordinal position and sibling sex differences with respect to feminine behavior. The first two are derived from the modeling theory and are not concerned with parental influence. The third is derived from the structural balance theory and the fourth from findings of studies on conformity. These two are conceived mainly in terms of sibling-parental influence. The fourth disregards ordinal position. The four explanations are briefly:

1. Sibling-similarity hypothesis which suggests that second born children model much of the behavior of the first-born siblings regardless of sex of the first-born siblings.
2. Sibling-opposites hypothesis which suggests: (a) for the male, an older sister may serve as a negative model, and (b) threat of sibling rivalry exists for the younger boy with an older brother and leads him to avoid modeling of his brother's response

patterns. A similar pattern exists for girls.

3. Structural balance theory which predicts that in a two-child family those with an opposite-sex sibling will conform more to their sex role than those who have the same-sibling as they identify more with the like-sex parent.
4. Conformity hypothesis which feels that first-borns regardless of the sex of the sibling conformed more so than second borns to their sex role due to differential parental treatment during socialization.

Various studies can be cited to support each of the four hypotheses, however, no evidence has been found to support conclusively any one of the four. However, a few studies regarding sibling status and sex-roles appear to coincide. Brim (1958), in a further analysis of Koch's (1955, 1956) data relating personality traits of children to their sex, sex of sibling, ordinal position, and age difference from sibling, found evidence to support the hypotheses that cross-sex siblings will have more traits of the opposite sex than will same-sex siblings, and that this effect will be greater for the younger, as contrasted with the older sibling. Another study shows college girls with older brothers did have less traditional beliefs about female personality traits, which was contrary to expectations, but consistent with Brim's hypothesis about role assimilation between opposite sex siblings (Kammeyer, 1967). Again, Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1964), on a group of preadolescents, ages nine to twelve years old, found the presence of opposite-sex siblings tends to decrease the self-sex preferences, whereas the presence

of like sex siblings tends to reinforce the self-sex preferences in two- and three-child families. In opposition to the assumption that children imitate opposite-sex siblings' behavior are the results of a study by Leventhal (1970). He found that men with an older sibling of the opposite sex displayed greater interest in outdoor and technical activities, greater athletic skill, and greater desire for membership in all-male peer groups than men with older brothers. Two possible explanations for this were given. First, the younger child may wish to avoid situations where he may be compared unfavorably to his older sibling. Second, the younger child may try to behave differently from a sibling of the opposite sex in order to avoid disapproval from parents and peers. Prior to this, there is often an initial period where a younger male imitates his older sister. This may help explain why a study such as Brim's (1958), on children, supports the hypothesis that cross-sex siblings will have more traits of the opposite sex. However, Kammeyer (1967) and Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith (1964) found results similar to Brim (1958), yet their subjects were preadolescent and college age. At the moment evidence supporting the sibling-similarity hypothesis on sport participation, although not consistently supportive, seems to be the most popular (Portz, 1972). Lander's (1971) findings on comparisons of the family position frequencies of female physical education and education majors, as well as women athletes support a sibling similarity explanation in that second-born children model much of the behavior of the first-born sibling, particularly girls with older brothers.

Several studies on ordinal position relate specifically to first born children. Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) suggest that since identification may, as previously shown, be positively linked to degree of nurturance of the same-sex parent, it was suggested that first born girls may identify more strongly with their mothers than later girls as they have the experience of relating to the mother at a time when she is most likely to provide them greater nurturance and more opportunity for interaction. Heilbrun and Fromme (1965) also suggested that the oldest girls are more strongly identified with their mothers than are middle and youngest girls. If the mother is athletic or interested in sports one may expect similarities particularly in the oldest daughter.

In regard to birth order differences in conformity, Rhine (1968) in a study involving first- and later-born pre-adolescent girls, found first-borns were more conforming than later-borns in the low-achievement arousal condition but the later-borns were more conforming in the high-achievement arousal condition. Differences in conformity behavior were significant only in the high-achievement arousal condition. Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1970) concluded that first-borns were more achieving, affiliative, and conforming because of special on-going relationships with parents who have high expectations for the first-born. In contrast to this, Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957) in studying patterns of child rearing suggest there was no evidence that mothers placed higher demands on their first-born children than on later ones. Nevertheless, they have suggested several distinguishing

characteristics of being born first or later in the child sequence. Mothers often tended to regard their first children more positively than later ones. Another study explored parent conformity versus peer conformity in relation to the age and sex of siblings. Differences were accounted for mainly by the contrast between girls with older sisters and those with younger brothers. Those with younger brothers were predominantly parent conforming, while the girls with older sisters were predominantly peer conforming (Brittain, 1966).

Studies on motivational and achievement differences also show specific findings on first-borns. Adams and Phillips (1972) found first-borns were significantly higher than later-born on four different measures of intellectual and academic performance and on one measure of school motivation. When differences in level of motivation between the two groups were controlled, all of the previously found differences between first-born and later-born disappeared. To the extent that the factors of ability and motivation are prime ingredients in academic and intellectual accomplishment, the authors would anticipate that the first-born would have a distinct advantage over later-borns with respect to intellectual ability, or level of motivation, or both of these factors. A study of the school achievement of first-and second-born siblings revealed differences between siblings on grades and test scores significantly favored the first-borns. The data also indicated that first-born superiority may be more pronounced for siblings close in age and for first-born girls (Chittenden, Foan, Zweil and Smith, 1968). It may then be that first-born girls are more

achievement oriented and would thus seek sporting experiences to satisfy such a need.

Other studies relate to various factors such as: creativity, dependency, and social reinforcement, and the first-born child. The creativity of 68 middle- and lower-class Caucasian children in a nursery, kindergarten, or day-care center was measured by an object-identification originality test. Firstborn and only children were significantly more creative than lower-class children (Lichtenwalner and Maxwell, 1969). Sampson (1962) found two related conclusions: first born persons have a higher need for achievement than later born persons, and first born females exhibit greater resistance to influence than later-born females. In regard to dependency, Stewart (1967) found the oldest of brothers and sisters were more field dependent than were the youngest of brothers and sisters. A study on birth order, number of siblings, and social reinforcement effectiveness in children indicated first-borns played significantly longer in a nonsupport condition than later-borns. The number of siblings was not found to be related to playing time (Unruh, Grosse and Zigler, 1971). Stein (1969) upon examining the influence of social reinforcement on the achievement behavior of fourth grade boys and girls found support for the hypothesis that social reinforcement is an important goal of children's achievement behavior. This finding relates to the previous suggestion that positive reinforcement by the mother towards her daughter's sporting interests and activities may encourage her participation in sports. Conclusions emerging from a study reviewing

literature on ordinal position suggest the following findings in regard to firstborns or only children: 1) they are more likely to to attain a position of intellectual eminence, particularly in the more scientific fields, 2) they are less likely to express overtly aggressive feelings, 3) they are more likely to seek the company of others when anxious and to benefit from such affiliative activity, yet 4) they are less likely to be sociable, outgoing, highly rated individuals who are empathetic and sympathetic (Sampson, 1965).

Summary and Conclusions

As a result of reviewing the literature on sibling and ordinal influences, the following implications appear relevant to this study.

1. In regard to sex roles it appears that girls with brothers may have more traits characteristic of the opposite sex than girls with no brothers.
2. It was suggested that girls with younger brothers may be predominantly parent conforming while girls with older sisters may be predominantly peer conforming.
3. A few studies show first borns, especially girls and those having siblings close in age, as more achieving and possessing a greater need for achievement.

Based on the review of literature in this section and also on the above implications, certain parallels to a sporting context can be made.

1. If girls with brothers appear to have more traits characteristic

to the opposite sex than girls with no brothers, one would similarly expect them to have more sporting interests; particularly if their brother was interested in sports.

2. In regard to sport participation although evidence is not consistently supportive, the most popular hypothesis seems to be the sibling-similarity hypothesis which suggests that second born children model much of the behavior of the first-born sibling, regardless of their sex. Therefore one would expect that if the oldest child has an interest in sports the younger child might also develop an interest in sports.

3. Itwas suggested that girls with younger brothers may be predominantly parent conforming. One may then expect that girls with younger brothers would conform more to their mother, than would girls with older sisters who were shown to be more peer conforming. If the mother happens to be athletic, as are the cases in this study, it is probable that the daughter with the younger brother would also take an interest in sports.

# CHAPTER III

# METHODOLOGY

## I. Introduction

This chapter reports the selection of the test sample, describes the construction and design of the research instruments, and the procedures followed in the collection, recording and treatment of the data.

## II. Selection of the Sample

The sample in this study consisted of eight mother and daughter pairs who were members of the Royal Glenora Club, Edmonton, Alberta. The Royal Glenora is a private club to which only paid members belong. There are approximately fourteen hundred members in this club. It is of both a social and sporting nature. The club has such sporting facilities as tennis courts, badminton courts, squash courts, bowling alleys, curling rink, ice rink, and a swimming pool. Selection of the pairs was dependent upon the mother being actively involved in some sport approximately three hours a week. In addition she must have an adolescent daughter between the ages of twelve and sixteen. The subjects were all from middle-class backgrounds. Ages of the mothers ranged from thirty-four to forty-seven. No educational stipulations were included in the selection of the sample. Their educational backgrounds ranged from grade eleven to a university degree.

The subjects were then selected, based on the requirements of this study, by Pauline Ingal who has close contact with the mothers

and daughters of the Royal Glenora Club. There were no refusals to participate in this study by any of the pairs contacted.

The subjects were then contacted by means of a telephone call; were further acquainted with the study, and interview times were arranged.

III. Construction of the Research Instruments

In an effort to construct as complete and detailed a picture as possible of most aspects of the lives of the mother-daughter pairs, with particular reference to their sporting attitudes and behaviors, it was decided to use the case study approach. A case study represents a comprehensive description and explanation of the many components of a given social situation; often initially directed at comprehending a single case. The focus of this study was on a few individuals; while the method used to study these individuals was the technique of interviewing. The advantage of such an approach is that a whole unit is analysed rather than merely a cross tabulation between traits of individuals. A wide range of personal experience is drawn upon in an attempt to find the meaning of the recorded data within the life of the individual and only later in terms of groups or classes of individuals.

A pilot study was done on two mother-daughter pairs prior to the main study. The purpose of the pilot study was to help correct any problems with the design of the interview schedule and also to familiarize the author with the actual technique of interviewing.

IV. Design of the Interview

The design of this interview schedule was to serve a dual

purpose. The first was to translate research objectives into specific questions as the interview progressed in order to provide the data necessary to formulate relevent trends. The second purpose was to assist the interviewer in motivating the respondent to communicate the required information. So that different questions could be pursued to differing degrees with each pair and could be directly related to their own particular sporting interests and activities, the interviews had to be fairly unstructured. Consequently a formal questionnaire with rigid questions in a predefined sequence was not used. Instead a list of topics and general questions to be covered during the course of the interviews was drawn up, and this was used primarily as a guide for the interviews. The actual questions asked did not necessarily correspond to those appearing on the list. The same starting questions on a particular topic were used in nearly all cases, though most of the interview was kept at a conversational rather than a strictly question and answer level, unless a respondent was particularly reticent in which case many more direct questions had to be asked.

V. Collection of the Data

After the prospective subjects were selected, initial contact was made by means of a telephone call by the interviewer. The purpose of the call was to (Festinger and Katz, 1965):

1. explain the purpose and objectives of the study
2. suggest time involved
3. describe method by which the respondent was selected
4. identify sponsor or agency conducting the research

5. state the anonymous or confidential nature of interview.

The interviews were all handled in a total of thirty hours. Each mother and daughter were interviewed separately, with each interview taking about one and a half to two hours to conduct. The sessions were all handled by the author of this study. All the interviews were conducted over a time period of three months. It was stressed at the beginning of each interview that the session would take the form more of an informal discussion rather than a formal question and answer period. As most questions were fairly open it was entirely up to the couples to answer in the length and detail they saw fit.

The collection of material on the interrelationships of self-images, opinions, ideas and behavior in a very short period was a difficult task as few of the subjects had sets of ideas and beliefs that were consistent or even well thought out concerning the topics of this study. When talking for any length of time in a flexible interview situation, or in answering related but differently slanted questions, people often make statements that are inconsistent or ambiguous.

## VI. Recording the Data

It has often been found that the recording of detailed case histories by means of a fairly long and loosely structured interview is almost a cross between the methods of participant observation and the more structured methods of the social survey. Participant observation requires that the researcher should establish an informal and often fairly close relationship of trust with his informants if

there is to be any guarantee that the information gained is reliable. Interviewing for social surveys depends far less on the relationship between interviewer and respondents, in order that biases are not introduced by the very fact of the relationship. The control in the survey situation is in many ways the distance between the people; for participant observation it is the prolonged interaction over several months.

The task of recording the data was handled singly by the author. Notes and responses to the questions were recorded as the interview progressed. The answers recorded were as objective as possible, despite being dependent on the subjective interpretations of the interviewer. However, it should be noted that a slight bias may exist due to the fact that the club is of a sporting nature and its members may feel they are expected to participate in sport. A possible bias may also exist in the case where there were two daughters in one family that met the selection requirements. It may be that the more athletic of the two was chosen.

## VII. Analysis of the Data

The analysis of this experimental data was by a method similar to qualitative coding. Qualitative coding is a term given to all techniques for classifying reliably those social data on which very little order has been previously imposed by the researcher. The basic general steps followed were to:

1. study the completed cases carefully to pick out the various unique characteristics of each mother-daughter pair.

2. note existing trends, based on review of literature, and fit the trends to the suggested implications.
3. formulate relevent findings concerning the trends.

## VIII. Summary

A test sample of eight mother-daughter pairs, all members of the Edmonton Royal Glenora Club, was selected for this study. Administered to this sample was an interview concerning their sporting interests and activities, and the mother-daughter relationship. This chapter described the test sample, the construction and design of the interview schedule, and procedures for data collection, recording and analysis.

# CHAPTER IV

## CASE STUDIES

In this chapter each of the eight mother-daughter pairs will be considered individually. Interpretation and analysis will be left for a later chapter. In the first four cases the daughters were the oldest child in the family, while in the following four cases the daughter was not the oldest child in the family.

## I. A. MRS. YOUNG

### Appearance

Mrs. Young was five feet six and a half inches tall and about average weight. She was in the process of trying to lose the few extra pounds she gained as a result of the birth of her two and a half month old son. Her complexion was fair, and she wore her shoulder length brown hair pulled back from her face and hanging fairly loose and straight. Her manner of dress was a neat and attractive pant suit.

### Background Information

Mrs. Young was the only girl in a family with two brothers. She was born in Brooks, Alberta, where her father farmed and did part time carpentry work, while her mother taught music part time. Her schooling ended after grade eleven, and she married at the age of seventeen. After separating from her first husband about five years ago she has recently remarried. Her present husband is a real estate manager. Mrs. Young, at the age of thirty-four, has five children ages: fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, ten, and a baby boy two and a half months old. The oldest four are all girls and children of her first marriage while the baby is from her second marriage.

Work History

Due to the early age Mrs. Young married and started to raise a family, she never had the time or desire to work. After her separation with her first husband, she went to work in 1970. Her job consisted of selling residential real estate. Although not too mentally stimulating she enjoyed the constant contact with people. She worked for a period of three years. With her remarriage and the birth of her son she no longer had the need or time to work.

Mother-Daughter Interaction

In regard to similar behavior characteristics Mrs. Young felt her daughter Lee resembled her in disposition. She felt they were both quite conservative, shy in new or strange situations, fairly happy go-lucky, and quite active. She expressed a strong desire to participate in sports, more so than her daughter, with the emphasis more on playing well than winning.

The only similar activities the two share, other than sports, are sewing and a little piano. Mrs. Young felt her common bond with Lee was their sporting interests and activities. She mentioned that as Lee is quite shy she needs encouragement to get involved in certain situations if she does not know the people or is unsure of herself or her ability. Encouragement to participate in sport has been both verbal and by giving her the opportunity to participate in the various sports which are offered at the Royal Glenora Club. Mrs. Young mentioned,

in particular, her verbal encouragement for Lee to participate in team sports such as volleyball. Over the past two years Lee has taken up badminton and tennis. The encouragement to try these two sports came from Mrs. Young both verbally and by example as she plays both games quite extensively. Mrs. Young felt the only activity or behavior she would not like to see Lee try was smoking.

In regard to other influences on Lee's behavior and activities, Mrs. Young felt Lee's friends had little influence on her. As she is bussed in to school she has few close friends in the neighborhood. The friends she does have she has met mainly through her already existing activities and they therefore have similar interests. Also, as Lee has sisters close in age to her she spends a lot of time with the family. Both Lee's father and her step-father have encouraged her interest in sport. Mrs. Grant's first husband taught the girls in the family to swim, while her present husband plays badminton and tennis with Lee when he has the time. Mr. Grant plays on a rugby team in the summer and the whole family goes to watch the games. Mr. and Mrs. Grant both are avid sport fans. They both watch a lot of sport on television, go to the Oilers hockey games and the Eskimo football games. Lee also enjoys these same spectator activities, plus enjoys reading the sport pages of the newspaper regularly as does Mr. Grant. Mrs. Grant also reads the sport pages but not so extensively.

Relationship with Daughter

Mrs. Young felt she had a good relationship with Lee. She further described it as close and confiding, with most of Lee's interests and activities revolving around the family. She described Lee's upbringing as being moderately strict with more leniency now that Lee knows what is expected of her. Mrs. Young expressed confidence in Lee acting within the guidelines of how she has been brought up, and in her choice of nice, suitable friends. Lee is given a fair amount of freedom to pursue her interests, which is not surprising considering her mother has the same interests, namely music and sports. In general Mrs. Young seems happy with her relationship with Lee and with her lifestyle in general. Her day is quite busy doing housework, and looking after the baby. In addition she runs a small investment company at home which entails mainly telephone calls and book work. She also tries to play some sport, usually badminton, squash or racketball, every day with her husband, children or other members of the Royal Glenora Club. She mentioned that the baby doesn't really tie her down too much as the older girls often babysit or she takes the baby with her. She also mentioned that she usually does the things she wants to do. She would like to do more sports but doesn't know if she could handle it, as her back sometimes gives her trouble and there are only so many hours in a day.

Attitudes on Sex Specific Behavior and Interests

First, in regard to sex specific behavior, Mrs. Young felt adolescent boys and girls shouldn't really differ too much, but should both have a basic standard of morals and manners. With respect to general interests and activities, she again felt what is fine for one sex is fine for the other. More specifically, dealing with sports she expressed the feeling that girls should not participate with boys in rough contact sports such as rugby, football, and hockey. However, if it was an all girls team she felt it would be okay for girls to participate in football and hockey. Her reason for this was that in mixed teams boys may get rough and with their superior strength the girls may get hurt. She further felt girls should not participate in boxing or wrestling even if it was only with other girls. Competition in sport was expressed as being a valuable experience, but usually not before the age of about twelve or until a certain level of ability or proficiency was reached. Too much competition was considered bad if the wrong attitudes and values were expressed. An example was the win at all costs idea. However, Mrs. Young felt it was important to experience competition as the child gets older as we live in a competitive society. She expressed the feeling that she would rather see Lee try a lot of sports rather than train extensively in one as it deprives the child of a proper social life and affects the whole family. Mrs. Young also felt intensive physical training may be harmful to girls Lee's age, and it may also

be too stressful mentally. The same would apply even more so to younger girls, particularly in comparison to boys, as girls do not have the strength boys do.

Mothers Sporting Interests and Activities

Mrs. Young's sporting interests are both recreational and competitive in nature. At present her recreational sporting activities include the occasional games of paddleball and badminton. Later on this winter she hopes to do some cross-country skiing with the family and curl once a week in a league. In regard to her competitive sports, Mrs. Young competes in the odd badminton tournament at the Royal Glenora Club, and plays in the men's Squash league, due to the fact that there are not enough women who play squash to form their own league. This league runs from October to April. As a result Mrs. Young usually manages to play squash at least four times a week. In addition there are usually four or five tournaments each year which she enters in the ladies division. During the summer, except last year due to pregnancy, she plays tennis about five times a week, usually for fun, swims, canoes occasionally, and enjoys walking. Of these sporting activities, she usually shares a game per week of tennis with her husband in the summer, and in winter a few games of squash. Mrs. Young and Lee also usually share a game of tennis per week in the summer and a game or two per week of badminton in the winter. The whole family hope to cross-country ski some week-ends

this winter. Mr. Young is also interested in sports and his family's sporting activities as indicated above. In addition to playing tennis, squash and cross-country skiing he tries to get in a game of badminton or tennis with Lee on weekends. However, in the summer he is quite busy with rugby as he practices twice a week with a city league team and plays in a game once a week. He also golfs on the odd occasion.

Daughters Sporting Interests and Activities

In discussing Lee's involvement in sport, Mrs. Young mentioned the following. Lee has played most sports at school some time or other. When younger she took skating lessons for several years to learn to skate properly, and about five years ago tried competitive swimming for about a year and a half. Mrs. Young mentioned that she quit because she didn't like it. For three years previous to last summer Lee played softball about three times per week with the community league team. She now hopes to cross-country ski with the family. Last summer she started tennis lessons and played once or twice a week. At present Lee referees girls volleyball and plays on the school badminton team for which she practices about four times a week, both at school and at the Royal Glenora Club. Mrs. Young said she will encourage Lee to try out for the basketball team.

Mrs. Young felt the main value of girls Lee's age participating in sport was the fact that it keeps them so busy they can not get into as much trouble and makes them a more interesting person as

it broadens their interests. She mentioned it is a good way of meeting friends and also those who are active in sport accept others more readily if they also participate in sport. Another point was that participation in sport promotes better health.

Sibling Influences

Mrs. Young suggested that the other children in the family do not influence Lee much as they are younger and in particular, with regard to sport, have less interest. Lynn, the second oldest girl may influence Lee slightly in her efforts to try cooking. In general, it is Lee who is the bigger influence, on the other children, particularly on the youngest's sporting interests. This is merely a result of the example Lee sets, and their playing catch or soccer together in the back yard. The second and third oldest girls do not display as much interest in sport as the other two although Lee does play badminton and tennis with them occasionally.

Significant Changes Since Daughter's Elementary Years

Mrs. Young felt there have been few significant changes since Lee's elementary school days in regard to the topics previously discussed. Sport always has been a common bond between the two. Although tennis and badminton are recent similar interests, the two formerly had similar interests in baseball and swimming. Their relationship has changed little over the years as Lee has always been

easy to get along with. Mrs. Young felt Lee may need more encouragement now to get out and try new experiences than before as she is shy in strange situations.

## B. Lee

### Appearance

Lee, at the age of fifteen, was five feet eight inches tall and of a slightly heavy build. Her complexion was quite fair and she wore her blonde hair in a slightly curled under style which reached just below her ear level. The style was fairly feminine, while her manner of dress, although not particularly feminine was neat and casual.

### Mother-Daughter Interaction

In regard to similar behavior characteristics Lee suggested both her and her mother were fairly good natured and easy to get along with. She suggested they both have a fairly competitive nature, but of the two Mrs. Young's is stronger. Lee mentioned that when she gets really mad, although not that often, she takes it out on others physically as she is quite a strong girl. She further described herself as a bit of a tomboy as she is quite rough in behavior, often uses coarse language, and although she wears neat attractive pants she seldom wears a dress.

Similar activities shared by the two are those mentioned previously by Mrs. Young. These were mainly sports, and a slight interest in piano. Lee also mentioned her interest in the saxaphone and occasionally sewing. Lee suggested her mother encourages her both verbally and by example especially if whatever Lee is doing isn't going well. Examples of this were finishing off a sewing project, and trying to improve skills in badminton when she gets beat. Mrs. Young often practices badminton and tennis in the summer, pointing out her strengths and weaknesses so Lee can improve her game. Lee suggested she has a quick temper and in games such as badminton often feels her partner or opponent is picking on her, which sometimes results in her swearing at them or throwing her racket at the floor. However, in general she feels she is a good sport about losing. She also suggested she has had personality conflicts with a couple of her coaches. This was the reason she said she quit competitive swimming and why she is not playing on the school volleyball team. Lee felt there were few activities her mother tried to discourage except maybe not being so physically rough when playing with other kids. This Lee felt was a result of her mother fearing she may hurt someone more than the fact that that type of behavior is not appropriate for the female sex.

When asked about other persons who may influence her interests or activities Lee suggested her step-father does slightly as they occasionally play badminton or tennis together and both he and Mrs. Young are trying to get her to learn either squash or paddleball.

Lee's father was also greatly interested and active in sport. Although Lee was too young to try many sports at that time he encouraged and taught her to swim. Lee felt her friends may influence her social life some but do not influence her sporting interests or activities much. Even if her friends didn't play any sports Lee said she would still play but feels it is more fun if they do play. In general Lee felt the biggest influence on her interests and activities was her mother.

Relationship With Mother

Lee described her mother as a warm understanding person. She allows Lee to pursue most of her interests as long as she stays within the basic rules or guidelines upon which she was raised. Further, Mrs. Young encourages Lee to pursue various activities and to persist at something when it gets difficult. Lee feels her mother is quite happy with the way her life is patterned. She felt her mom might like to do more sport but is sometimes not able to if the baby is acting up during the day, or her back is bothering her.

Attitudes on Sex Specific Behavior and Interests

In regard to sex specific behavior differences Lee felt girls should not be as physically rough as boys or use as course language even though her behavior is such. She felt girls need not necessarily wear dresses but both sexes should appear neat and clean. Girls in particular should not wear grubby jeans. Although Lee's behavior

could be considered slightly masculine she feels it doesn't really bother her mother as she also often acts in a very casual manner. Lee felt there should be few differences in regard to general activities but mentioned a few in regard to sport. She did not think girls should play contact sports such as hockey, football or rugby, with guys unless they were the same size as they might get injured. However, if girls wear the proper equipment and play against other girls Lee felt it was fine. She further felt girls should not wrestle or box with either boys or girls because of the chance of physical disfiguration, and should not try certain apparatus, such as the rings, in gymnastics as they do not have the strength to handle it. Lee was very positive in her attitude toward girls participating in sport competition as she feels Canada needs all the top athletes she can get. Intensive training was considered important if the athlete has the potential to reach the top, although for the average athlete Lee felt intensive training was not worthwhile if the athlete's school work or social life suffers. Physically she felt girls are capable of handling such training but wonders if they can stand the social pressures resulting from the image of being a female athlete, especially males' negative attitudes towards them. In regard to elementary school age children Lee felt they were not capable either mentally or physically of training as intensively as adolescents. Also adolescent girls can train as hard as boys the same age except maybe in events requiring strength, whereas she felt little girls would not like to train as hard as little boys as they are too busy doing the things little girls

are supposed to be doing, such as wearing dresses and acting like sissies. At about the age of fourteen she felt girls begin to realize they are capable of the same activities as boys.

Daughter's Sporting Interests and Activities

Lee's sporting interests were previously mentioned by Mrs. Young. Briefly they share a couple of games of tennis per week in the summer, a couple of games of badminton in the winter and occasionally cross-country skiing. In addition Lee plays badminton a couple of times per week and is on the school team. Also she swims and skates once in awhile, and plays most sports in Physical Education at school. Lee mentioned that she needs encouragement when things aren't going well or if she is playing poorly. Mrs. Young provides this by verbally encouraging Lee to keep trying and by helping her with her weaknesses in both tennis and badminton. Lee feels that sport is beneficial to girls her age in that it enables them to meet new people, keep in shape, and allows them to feel a sense of achievement. The importance of sport in an adolescent girls life would depend on her ability, how much she enjoyed sports and the encouragement she received to participate in sport. However Lee felt that school and a social life should be more important in a girls life than sport.

Mothers Sporting Interests and Activities

As previously mentioned Lee stated her mother's present participation in both badminton and tennis, and mentioned their shared interest in these sports. Her most recent sporting activities include squash, racketball and occasionally cross-country skiing.

Sibling Influences

Lee suggested that she influences the other children in the family more than they influence her. Sport seems to be the common bond between not only Lee and her parents but also with her sisters. The three oldest girls all started playing badminton and some tennis as a result of their mother's influence, and although they all sometimes play together, Lee felt her sisters play mainly for fun whereas Lee takes her sporting interests more seriously and enjoys competing in badminton on the school team.

Significant Changes Since Daughter's Elementary Years

During Lee's elementary years the only similar interests or activities they shared were the piano, skating and occasionally swimming. Swimming was more of an interest shared by Lee and her father. However, Mrs. Young enrolled Lee in and provided the transportation to these activities whereas today if Lee wishes to participate in some activity she usually goes about it on her own. As a result of Mrs. Young and her first husband's separation Lee felt

her mother and she grew closer during the four years before she re-married. It was during the last two years that Lee acquired her interest in both badminton and tennis. Friends have never been much of an influence on Lee and at present she feels they only really influence her social life not her sporting interests. Lee feels that it is even more important for her to take an interest in sport at her present age than in her elementary days for health reasons and because the friends you make through sport at this age usually remain friends longer than those you make when younger.

## II. A. MRS. TRACE

### Appearance

Mrs. Trace is five feet eight inches tall and fairly slender. She has a medium dark complexion and reddish-brown hair worn fairly short and curled back off her face. At the time of the interview she was wearing black pants, and a brown sweater with a gold cardigan over top of it.

### Background Information

Mrs. Trace was born and raised in Edmonton, Alberta. Her father did janitor and guard work, while her mother kept house and looked after her brother, sister and her. Mrs. Trace completed grade eleven and six years later, at the age of twenty-two, married Mr.

Trace who is at present a city high-school teacher. Mrs. Trace is forty-five years old and the mother of sixteen and twelve year old daughters.

Work History

Mrs. Trace worked at two different jobs as a stenographer for a total of twelve years. She started working after graduating from grade eleven and continued until she became pregnant with her first child.

Mother-Daughter Interaction

Mrs. Trace suggested that Karen and herself are not really very similar in personality. Karen tends to be more outgoing and shows her feelings more openly. However, they are both perhaps a little bit moody. They are also both fairly competitive by nature, although Mrs. Trace considers Karen to be more competitive than herself.

Mrs. Trace and Karen have few similar interests other than sports, except that they both enjoy reading quite a bit. The two major sports that they share an interest in are tennis and badminton. The Trace family lived in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan for a couple of years when Karen was eleven or twelve. As members of the Y.M.C.A. the family played a lot of tennis and badminton together. It was here that Karen first became interested in these sports. At this time, and

for a couple of years after moving back to Edmonton, the family usually played these sports together a couple of times a week. Mrs. Trace mentioned, "Over the past couple of years Karen and I haven't been able to play much tennis together as she is so busy training and with tournaments, and also I was sick last summer so didn't get out that much." Mrs. Trace plays badminton three times a week. Up until last year she used to go in some tournaments, but now plays more for fun although she does compete in the ladders. Karen and Mrs. Trace used to play badminton together about three or four times a month up until a couple of years ago. They seldom play together now as Karen does not play as much badminton as she used to, and when she does it is at school or with the school team. Occasionally they swim together. Mr. and Mrs. Trace were quite active in tennis and badminton when Karen was about eleven years old and as a result she always seemed eager to try these sports. Her father was the one who actually taught Karen to play both tennis and badminton, although Mrs. Trace also took an active interest in helping her learn. Karen enjoyed being active and was usually eager to try various sports. At the same time that she was learning to play tennis and badminton Karen also started to learn to play basketball at the Y.M.C.A. although her parents were not involved in this sport. A couple of years later Karen joined community league baseball for a season. Mrs. Trace mentioned that once Karen starts an activity she needs little encouragement to get out and practice. Both Mr. and Mrs. Trace watch Karen in various tennis and badminton tournaments when possible. Mr.

Trace is not able to watch Karen as often as Mrs. Trace as he is quite often busy. Since they both play these two sports they understand the strategy of the games and enjoy watching Karen play. Karen used to play these two sports with her mother a fair bit. However, they no longer play badminton together, and in the summer usually only manage to play tennis together a couple of times a month as the courts at the club are so crowded now. They also swim together occasionally, but Karen is so busy now with her own activities that she seldom has time to participate in sport with either of her parents. Mrs. Trace felt that Karen has met many of her friends as a result of being involved in sport rather than having friends who influenced her to become involved in sport. She felt Karen's interest in tennis and badminton to be due more to family influence than peers. However, Karen's interest in basketball, although developed on her own, was reinforced upon moving back to Edmonton by friends who wanted her to play Community League basketball. Mrs. Trace felt Karen was influenced by her friends mainly on social interests and activities.

Relationship With Daughter

Mrs. Trace described her relationship with Karen as fairly good. Karen often seeks her mother's advice or confides in her. Although they are not really very similar in personality they find it easy to communicate. Mrs. Trace felt she was not really that strict with Karen's upbringing except with matters such as curfew and

diet. Karen was always allowed to try the various activities that interested her. These interests were usually sports oriented, except for her piano lessons which she dropped last year after playing for nine years. Mrs. Trace is pretty content with the way she spends her time and keeps herself busy playing sports, reading, and looking after the house. She commented, "I may take up curling sometime so I'll have something to do when I get too old to play tennis or badminton."

Attitudes on Sex Specific Behavior and Interests

Mrs. Trace mentioned that she sees few behavior differences between the sexes, but as she has no boys she was not sure how you would classify typical male behavior. However, she did not feel there should be any major behavior differences between the sexes. Similarly, she felt that, with the exception of sports, both sexes should be free to pursue whatever interests them. In regard to sport, Mrs. Trace mentioned that she does not like to see either girls or boys involved in boxing and wrestling. Further, she would not like to see girls playing on a boy's football or hockey team because of the risk of injury. She did feel it was okay for girls to participate in these sports on an all girls team. Although Mrs. Trace is in favor of girls participating in competitive sports she does not really care to see anyone specialize in just one sport at any age. However, she realizes that to reach the top in a sport a person just about has to specialize. Therefore she said, "If a person really wants to specialize,

fine, but I'd rather see them try various sports as I feel it would be more interesting." In addition to Mrs. Trace's favorable attitude toward girls in competitive sports, she also felt that girls are probably able to train as hard as boys in most sports, except maybe during the time of menstruation.

Mother's Sporting Interests and Activities

As previously mentioned Mrs. Trace's sporting activities center around tennis, badminton and occasionally swimming. Up until last summer, when she did little physical activity because of an illness, Mrs. Trace used to play tennis about three or four times a week, and entered the occasional powder-puff tournament. During the winter she plays badminton about three times a week. She competes in the club ladder, but mainly plays for fun and exercise. Previous to this year she used to compete in some badminton tournaments in addition to the regular club ladder. Another activity Mrs. Trace occasionally tries is swimming. This is usually only during the summer and merely for enjoyment and exercise. The only sport Mrs. Trace watches on television is some tennis. She also watches live tennis and badminton. Similar to his wife, Mr. Trace plays badminton two or three times a week, both in a ladder and for enjoyment. Also, in winter he plays tennis about once a week and in summer three or four times per week, plus occasional club tournaments. Mr. Trace is not really an avid spectator of sports. He watches some football on television and some

of Karen's tennis and badminton tournaments. Neither does he read the sports pages of the newspaper.

Daughter's Sporting Interests and Activities

Similar to Karen's parents, she plays both tennis and badminton. Karen has been quite successful in tennis. At the age of fourteen she won the Provincial Singles for fourteen and under, and competed in the Nationals. Mrs. Trace thought Karen usually practices tennis two or three times a week in summer and enters about four tournaments each summer, ranging from their club tournament to Provincials. Mrs. Trace also mentioned that Karen plays badminton at school, but she was not sure how often. She added that Karen and a friend won the City High School Doubles a couple of years ago. Mrs. Trace suggested several benefits of participation in sports. First she mentioned, "Sports help you feel better both mentally and physically." She also felt it is nice to meet people with similar interests. Most important of all Mrs. Trace felt that although a good education is more important than proficiency in sports, it is wise for everyone to have some kind of interest or hobby in addition to their studies, plus participating in some type of physical activity.

Sibling Influences

Mrs. Trace suggested that Karen, along with both her and her husband, all influence Karen's younger sister just by always having been so involved in sport. Mrs. Trace mentioned of the youngest, "She saw the rest of the family doing sports and always wanted to try." However, Mrs. Trace did not feel that the younger daughter had any influence on Karen's sporting interests and activities.

Significant Changes Since Daughter's Elementary Days

Mrs. Trace mentioned some changes since Karen's elementary school days which she felt were significant. The only sports Karen has developed an interest in since then have been volleyball and skiing. Nearly all Karen's sporting interests have developed as a result of her parent's interest and participation in these same sports. Karen has always been eager to try various sports and enjoys being active. Mrs. Trace mentioned that her relationships with Karen may not be as close as it used to be as Karen is now a lot busier and spends more time on her own interests and with friends. Since Karen reached Junior High School, and the youngest started school, Mrs. Trace has had more time than ever before to spend playing sports. She mentioned, "I was quite satisfied with how I spent my time when the kids were younger, but since I now have more spare time I may as well use it." Both Mr. and Mrs. Trace have always taken an interest in Karen's sporting activities since the time she started school. Karen's influence on

her younger sister has increased since Karen's elementary days, along with Her sister's increasing interest in sports. However because of an age spread of five years, they have had little in common except sports.

## B. KAREN

### Appearance

Karen, at the age of sixteen, is five feet four inches tall, and has a slender build. She has a fair complexion and long brownish-blonde hair. At the time of the interview Karen was wearing blue jeans and a plaid shirt.

### Mother-Daughter Interaction

Karen suggested that although she is not that similar in personality to her mother, they do have some characteristics in common. Although they both like to be very organized they find themselves continually busy and rushing around. Karen felt herself to be more easy going than her mother, with both having fairly controllable tempers. Karen suggested, "Through sports I have learned to control my emotions." Karen feels she is more outgoing than her mother, who keeps a lot to herself. She also considers herself to have a more competitive nature than her mother. As far as general interests are concerned, with the exception of sports, both Karen and her

mother enjoy reading and can play the piano. Karen and her mother enjoy many of the same sports, although they do not necessarily do them together. Karen mentioned they only play the odd game of tennis together, as she is usually busy training for her tournaments. Also, seeing as Mrs. Trace was sick last summer, they never really played together. Karen felt that both her and her mother have been growing away from tennis. Mrs. Trace seldom enters any tennis tournaments except maybe the occasional powder-puff competition. As previously mentioned, Mrs. Trace plays a fair bit of badminton at the club, whereas Karen plays most of her badminton at school. As a result of this, and also as Karen is busy with a part time job, they no longer play badminton together. Karen also used to play basketball for several years; a game which Mrs. Trace used to play when younger. The only physical activity that Karen and her mother, along with the rest of the family, still participate in together is mountain climbing and camping. The family usually goes to the mountains about three times each summer for about five days each time. Karen added, "Mom was not really into sports that much until she got married." It appears that Mr. and Mrs. Trace have many of the same sporting interests. In addition to their mountain climbing they play tennis together once or twice a week in summer, and badminton in winter. Karen suggested that her parents play together more than she plays with either of them. Mr. Trace is keen on tennis and plays nearly every day in summer. He goes in various club tournaments, mainly for fun. Although Karen and her dad do not play as much badminton as they

used to, Mr. Trace still plays, but mainly with Mrs. Trace. Karen and her dad also go swimming occasionally in summer. Karen's friends have had little influence on her sporting interests other than encouraging her to resume her participation in basketball upon returning to Edmonton from Saskatoon, and to try skiing. Karen mentioned that she likes it if her friends are involved in the same sports as her, but even if they are not, she will still try an activity on her own if it really interests her.

Relationship With Mother

Karen, upon describing her relationship with her mother, commented, "We are not really that close because we are so different in personality that we conflict a lot." She also stated that they are, "both at biological stages where we don't get along, but at least we admit it." Karen often confides in both of her parents, referring to her mother on situations of a more personal nature. Her upbringing was neither strict nor really lenient, and most of the discipline and rules were set by her father. Both Karen's parents have usually encouraged her to try most of the activities which interest her. However, neither of her parents have ever really wanted her to try skiing as they were afraid she might get hurt. In addition to this, neither were pleased that Karen was playing as much basketball as she was as they felt it was a fairly rough game.

Attitudes on Sex Specific Behavior and Interests

Karen suggested that there are few differences in basic personality traits between the sexes, rather she felt girls and boys express these traits in different ways. For example, Karen mentioned, "Boys are more physically aggressive whereas girls are more verbally aggressive." However Karen did feel that girls are better at controlling their emotions as they learn to express themselves in a more socially acceptable manner. She also felt boys and girls now have more similar expectations placed upon themselves in regard to basic good manners and consideration of others. Further, in regard to general interests and activities other than sports, Karen felt both sexes should be allowed to pursue whatever they want. However, in regard to sport, Karen felt she would not like to see girls involved in boxing or wrestling, but is in favor of martial arts for girls. Also she does not think girls should play in contact sports on boys teams as it hinders the boy's game as they tend not to take the game as seriously as they should. Karen felt it was fine for girls to play on an all girls team in sports such as hockey and football. In such an event she felt the game would automatically be less rough than when boys play it. Karen mentioned that she is definitely in favor of girls in competitive sport but does not like the stress so many place on winning. One of the major reasons why Karen is moving away from tennis tournaments is that they make her feel too tense. She is not in favor of either girls or boys specializing in one particular

sport as it gets to be more of a job and takes the fun out of it. However, as far as training goes for a particular sport, Karen felt girls can work just as hard as boys physically and further, may be able to handle any mental stress involved better than boys.

Daughter's Sporting Interests and Activities

As previously mentioned Karen has been involved in various sports. She used to play tennis nearly every day in summer and went in about seven or eight tournaments per season. Karen doubts whether she will play so much this year as it gets her too tense. She also played volleyball and basketball for several years but was too busy this past year to play. The only activity Karen is involved in at present is badminton and occasionally skiing or skating. Karen plays badminton once a week now but hopes to soon increase this to about three once she starts practicing and playing on the school team. In the summer Karen hopes to play some tennis, and occasionally swim or go mountain climbing. Over the past year Karen's involvement in sport has lessened as she has been busy with a part-time job. She still enjoys watching various sports such as football, hockey, basketball, tennis, badminton, and various other major sports events, both live and on television. She mentioned that her parents have fairly similar spectator interests. None of them really follow the sports pages in the newspaper, but look for odd articles of interest. Karen has had an avid interest in sports since she first became aware of her parents involvement in sport, and as a result has participated

in many of the same activities as her parents. She feels her involvement in sport has benefited her in the following ways. She now has more control over her emotions, is more physically fit, has met many new friends, and sport helps her release tension. Although Karen feels schooling comes before all else she still thinks a person also has time for other interests, depending upon their own tastes, that everyone should do some type of physical activity.

Mother's Sporting Interests and Activities

Karen commented upon her mother's involvement in sport. Now that both Karen and her younger sister are old enough to look after themselves, Mrs. Trace has more time to do sports. Although her interest in tennis has declined some, which may be due to an illness last summer, her interest in badminton has increased. Karen mentioned that her mother plays about three times a week and is involved in the club ladder. In the summer she plays tennis about three times a week, swims occasionally, and goes mountain climbing with the family. Karen mentioned that her mother never really got into sports until she was married, and then most of her sporting activity was either with her husband or the children. Now she does more sports on her own or with her husband or friends. She also plays some tennis and badminton with the youngest daughter, more so than with Karen, as Karen is busier and does not get along with her mom as well. Karen also mentioned that although her mother is

involved in a fair amount of sport and likes to do well in it, she avoids most of the competitive tournaments and plays mainly for fun and exercise.

Sibling Influences

Karen suggested that she has had a fair influence on her younger sister, as Paula always wants to try the things Karen thinks are fun. Karen has recently persuaded Paula to try more activities at school, for example volleyball. She has also persuaded Paula to enter tournaments in tennis so she can play with persons at her own level. Other than sporting activities, Karen felt her major influence on Paula was her clothes selection. Karen thought that Paula has had little or no influence on her.

Significant Changes Since Daughter's Elementary Days

Karen felt one of the most significant changes she has experienced since her elementary days has been her interest in school sports, particularly team sports. Since Karen entered Junior High School she took up volleyball and basketball. In addition to this she played community league basketball for three years and baseball last year. Another change mentioned was the decrease in influence that her parents have on her. She suggested "You change and become more independent by meeting people with new interests." Nevertheless Karen still retains the same sporting interests as her parents, plus

several new ones. Karen felt that her relationship with her mother has also changed over the years in that it has moved from a mothering-dependency relationship to more of a friendship and sharing of adult interests. At the same time Mrs. Trace has had more free time to participate in more sports on her own. Karen also mentioned that she felt her influence on her sister's sporting interests has increased as Paula is now into more sports and they share more similar interests. Formerly it was more of a mother-dependency relationship.

## III. A. MRS. SAMSON

### Appearance

Mrs. Samson was five feet six inches tall and quite slender. Her complexion was quite dark and she wore her short black hair in a lightly waved, attractive style. At the time she was wearing grey pants and a pink shirt.

### Background Information

Mrs. Samson was born in Kincaid, Saskatchewan, and raised in a family of four brothers and three sisters. Her father was a farmer and her mother stayed home to take care of the children and the house. After completing grade twelve she worked at various jobs until marrying at the age of twenty-five. At the age of forty, Mrs. Kincaid is the mother of fourteen year old twin girls, and a twin ten year old

boy and girl. Her husband works as an investment broker.

Work History

Before marrying, Mrs. Samson worked at various jobs for periods varying from three months to about three years. These jobs included: bank teller, work in a papermill, clerk at a department store, social dance teacher, work in a dentist's office, and work at the Industrial Acceptance Corporation. She quit her last job when she was seven months pregnant and has not gone back to work since.

Mother-Daughter Interaction

Mrs. Samson mentioned that Lynn has always been the easiest of her children to get along with as her disposition is always cheerful, whereas her own disposition is not always as sunny. Lynn can be very stubborn about things once she has her mind made up. Mrs. Samson is sometimes this way too. As for showing their feelings Mrs. Samson tries to get both her and Lynn to air their feelings more and bring them out in the open. Neither of them tend to be quick tempered. Another common characteristic is their liking for neatness and orderliness.

Lynn and Mrs. Samson share a common love for reading, both enjoy watching ballet, and occasionally enjoy domestic activities together. In addition to this, they share several sporting interests. Both play tennis, and before Lynn became so involved in her gymnastics

they usually managed to play together about once or twice a week in the summer. Occasionally they would play badminton. During the winter the whole family skis together during the major holidays and in summer they all usually manage a couple of weeks of water skiing. Mrs. Samson tried to introduce Lynn to various interests and activities as a youngster. "I'd introduce the kids into something and make them go to all the lessons and then let them decide on their own if they wanted to continue." Once Lynn decided if she would like to continue a certain activity she needed little encouragement. Some activities Lynn has tried are ballet, jazz, swimming and music. Mrs. Samson admitted, "actually I did push her into that but would have let her quit if she wanted to." However, Lynn was always very concientious about practicing without being told, even though she never professed to being that keen on piano. Mrs. Samson always tried to encourage Lynn to try various sports. She would have liked her to develop her slight interest in tennis or badminton as these are the sports Mrs. Samson enjoys. The only activity Mrs. Samson can recall ever discouraging Lynn in was her ballet lessons as she had to nearly force Lynn to go. She felt that unless Lynn was really keen on it there was no point in continuing. Mr. Samson discouraged Lynn in her figure skating lessons as he disliked the thought of her possibly ending up in the Ice Capades. Lynn developed a keen interest in gymnastics in grade four and has gradually given up most of her other interests to devote more time to this particular sport. Although Lynn decided on her own that she wants to specialize in gymnastics,

Mrs. Samson and her husband are both, "glad that she has something to work at that she enjoys so much." Both parents watch the occasional displays and competitions. Mrs. Samson suggested she has usually been able to watch Lynn participate in her various activities more frequently than her husband, as he is usually busy, and in his free time likes to pursue his own sporting interests. He particularly enjoys golfing. In the summer he water skis with the whole family and in winter they all snow ski. It was his interest in these two sports that probably resulted in the rest of the family including Mrs. Samson, trying them. Mrs. Samson felt Lynn might also like to try golf as a result of her husbands great love for the game. Lynn's friends have mainly influenced her social activities rather than her sporting activities. If she is interested in something she will get involved in it whether or not her friends are interested. Mrs. Samson mentioned, "She has a mind of her own and makes her own decisions."

Relationship With Daughter

Mrs. Samson described Lynn as a very likeable person. They have a good close relationship as Lynn finds it very easy to talk to her mother. Lynn often confides in Mrs. Samson although she is a "quite complicated girl." Mrs. Samson has always considered herself fairly lenient in Lynn's upbringing and encouraged her to pursue various interests. She mentioned of her children "I've always said they can take whatever they want as long as they are keen on it." Mrs. Samson has more free time on her hands now that the children are